

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1185

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FOR EUR/CE

FOR AMBASSADOR STOESSEL FROM MEEHAN

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SOPN, PINT, GW, US
SUBJECT: DRAFT SPEECH FOR DELIVERY TO THE CLAUSEWITZ
GESELLSCHAFT IN HAMBURG, SEPTEMBER 16, 1978

1. THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS THE ENGLISH DRAFT OF YOUR
SEPTEMBER 16 SPEECH TO THE CLAUSEWITZ GESELLSCHAFT IN
HAMBURG. WE ARE WORKING ON THE GERMAN TRANSLATION AND
SHALL CABLE IT TO YOU BY TUESDAY, AUGUST 22. PLEASE
SEND US AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ANY CHANGES YOU WISH TO MAKE.

2. BEGIN TEXT

TITLE: AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH EUROPE AND THE FRG

INTRODUCTION

PRESIDENT DE MAIZIERE, MEMBERS OF THE CLAUSEWITZ
GESELLSCHAFT, AMBASSADOR HALSTEAD, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

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I AM GREATLY HONORED BY YOUR INVITATION TO TAKE
PART IN TODAY'S DISCUSSION ON THE STATE OF TRANSATLANTIC
RELATIONS. AS A CONFIRMED ATLANTICIST, I HAVE A STRONG
INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT OF AMERICA'S TIES TO EUROPE AND
TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. I BELIEVE THAT
NOTHING IS MORE IMPORTANT FOR OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND
OUR TWO CONTINENTS THAN THE STRONG TIES WHICH BIND

TOGETHER THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY.

I PARTICULARLY WELCOME THIS CHANCE TO MEET WITH YOU, THE MEMBERS OF THE CLAUSEWITZ GESELLSCHAFT. YOUR PATRON, WHOM PRESIDENT DE MAIZIERE HAS APTLY PORTRAYED AS A "PHILOSOPHER IN UNIFORM," CONTRIBUTED A GREAT DEAL TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF YOUR PROFESSION AND MINE. HE WAS THE FIRST TO DESCRIBE IN A SYSTEMATIC WAY THE ORGANIC LINKAGE BETWEEN POLITICS AND WAR. TODAY, OUR GOVERNMENTS CONTINUE TO GRAPPLE WITH THAT LINKAGE. WE MAINTAIN THE PRIMACY OF POLITICS; WE ARE MINDFUL OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF MILITARY POWER. WE THEREBY DRAW HEAVILY ON CLAUSEWITZ' HERITAGE. HE REMAINS, FOR US, A VERY MODERN INDIVIDUAL.

YOUR CONVENTION HAS PARTICULAR RELEVANCE IN LIGHT OF EVENTS WHICH HAVE CONCERNED US IN THE PAST FOUR MONTHS: THE NATO SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON, THE STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT CARTER TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND BERLIN, AND THE WORLD ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN BONN. FOR ME, THIS MEETING HAS AN ADDED IMMEDIACY IN THAT I HAVE JUST COME BACK FROM CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON, DURING WHICH I DISCUSSED TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS IN SOME DETAIL.

TODAY, I WANT TO SURVEY AMERICAN TIES WITH EUROPE AND WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AND THE UNCLASSIFIED

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CHALLENGES WHICH CONFRONT US ALL. I HOPE THAT WE CAN DISCUSS SOME OF THESE POINTS IN MORE DETAIL DURING THE QUESTION PERIOD.

TIES WITH EUROPE

FIRST OF ALL, AMERICA'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY HAS BEEN, AND REMAINS, THE VITAL PART OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. NO OTHER RELATIONSHIP IS MORE IMPORTANT TO US; NONE IS MORE COMPLEX. OUR ESSENTIAL FOREIGN INTERESTS LIE, AS THEY HAVE FOR MANY YEARS, IN EUROPE.

THERE ARE MANY SPIRITUAL AND PRAGMATIC REASONS WHY THIS IS SO. SINCE SIGNING THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY IN 1949, THE UNITED STATES HAS CONSISTENTLY AND OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORTED THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY AS THE BEST DEFENSE OF THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS AND VALUES WHICH WE SHARE. AS PRESIDENT TRUMAN NOTED WHEN HE SUBMITTED THE NATO TREATY TO CONGRESS IN 1949:

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"EVENTS OF THIS CENTURY HAVE TAUGHT US
THAT WE CANNOT ACHIEVE PEACE INDEPENDENTLY.
THE WORLD HAS GROWN TOO SMALL. THE SECURITY
AND WELFARE OF EACH MEMBER OF THIS COMMUNITY
DEPENDS ON THE SECURITY AND WELFARE OF ALL.
NONE OF US ALONE CAN ASSURE THE CONTINUANCE
OF FREEDOM."

FOR ALMOST THREE DECADES, THE NORTH ATLANTIC
ALLIANCE HAS KEPT THE PEACE IN EUROPE. IT HAS ENABLED
OUR CITIZENS TO REACH AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF
WELL-BEING. TODAY, ALL NATO MEMBERS ENJOY DEMOCRATIC
GOVERNMENTS, PERSONAL LIBERTY, AND THE RULE OF LAW. WE
HAVE ACHIEVED THE GOALS WHICH LIE IN THE PREAMBLE TO
THE NATO TREATY: TO "PRESERVE THE FREEDOM, THE COMMON
HERITAGE, AND THE CIVILIZATION" OF OUR PEOPLES.

THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO NATO ALSO RESTS ON TWO
HARD FACTS, AS VALID IN 1949 AS TODAY:

-- FIRST, THAT THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND
WESTERN EUROPE STANDS UNDER MILITARY THREAT FROM THE
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STATES OF THE WARSAW PACT; AND

-- SECOND, THAT NEITHER THE UNITED STATES NOR WESTERN EUROPE ALONE CAN WARD OFF THIS THREAT.

TOGETHER, THESE SOBER REALITIES AND CONCRETE ACHIEVEMENTS EXPLAIN WHY THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY HAS FORMED THE CORNERSTONE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY FOR MORE THAN A GENERATION. SEVEN AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE BUILT ON THAT FOUNDATION. IN A SPEECH BEFORE THE PALAIS DES CONGRES IN PARIS LAST JANUARY, PRESIDENT CARTER AFFIRMED THAT:

"THE COMMITMENT OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE TO THE SECURITY OF EUROPE IS ABSOLUTE. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT THAT WE WILL MAINTAIN IN EUROPE WHATEVER FORCES ARE NEEDED TO MEET THAT COMMITMENT."

DURING HIS STATE VISIT TO BONN IN JULY, THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED THAT COMMITMENT. HE SAID THAT:

"WE ARE PREPARED TO DETER WAR IN EUROPE AND TO DEFEND ALL ALLIED TERRITORY AS STRONGLY AND AS DEEPLY COMMITTED AS WE DEFEND THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES ITSELF."

AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO EUROPE'S SECURITY YIELDS ANOTHER DIVIDEND FOR THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY: NATO PROVIDES THE SHIELD BEHIND WHICH EUROPEAN UNIFICATION CAN MOVE FORWARD. THE UNITED STATES GAVE THIS PROCESS A MAJOR BOOST IN THE YEARS OF THE MARSHALL PLAN. WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT EUROPEAN UNIFICATION TODAY. AS UNCLASSIFIED

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PRESIDENT CARTER TOLD THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES IN BRUSSELS EARLY THIS YEAR, THE UNITED STATES WELCOMES A STRONG, UNITED EUROPE AS A COMMON FORCE FOR THE VALUES OUR PEOPLES SHARE. THE COMMUNITY'S GROWING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ROLE BEYOND WESTERN EUROPE ALSO CONTRIBUTES VITALITY TO THE ATTAINMENT OF OUR COMMON

GOALS.

TIES WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS CAN ONLY BE UNDERSTOOD

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND. YOUR COUNTRY AND MINE ARE AT THE HEART OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. OUR RELATIONS BOTH LIE IN THAT CONTEXT AND TRANSCEND IT. IN THE TWO DECADES SINCE THE CLAUSEWITZ GESELLSCHAFT WAS FORMED, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY HAS MATURED IN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRENGTH. THIS PROCESS HAS BROUGHT GREATER INDEPENDENCE AND GREATER CHALLENGE. ON OCCASION, IT HAS CHANGED THE TONE AND CONTENT OF OUR BILATERAL TIES. BOTH SIDES HAVE HAD TO MAKE ADJUSTMENTS.

YET, THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE UNITED STATES WELCOMES GERMANY'S GROWING ENGAGEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS. OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BECOME CLOSE PARTNERS IN A GLOBAL EFFORT TO SECURE PEACE, FREEDOM, AND STABILITY FOR MANKIND. AS PRESIDENT CARTER SAID IN BONN LAST JULY;

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1187

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"TODAY, BOTH AMERICANS AND GERMANS ARE CREATIVE WORLD CITIZENS, STRIVING TOGETHER TO HELP OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD ACHIEVE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AND STABILITY."

THE AGENDA FOR THE RECENT SUMMIT MEETINGS IN BONN, AND THE CREATIVE EFFORTS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR SEVERAL YEARS, BEAR AMPLE WITNESS TO THAT POINT. OUR TRANSATLANTIC INTERDEPENDENCE IS NOW A FACT OF LIFE, A PROCESS WHICH BOTH SIDES MUST SUPPORT AND NOURISH.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD

YOU AND I KNOW THAT CHANGE IS THE LAW OF NATIONS. OUR TASK IS TO ADJUST TO THE NEEDS OF THE DAY, WHILE KEEPING IN MIND THE BEDROCK OF PRINCIPLES AND INTERESTS WHICH UNITE US IN THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. IN A COMPLEX WORLD WHERE FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFTEN BECOME GLOBAL ONES, OUR CONTINENTS AND THEIR PEOPLES NOW FACE WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS CALLED "A NEW AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY."

AS MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY, THE UNITED STATES
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OF AMERICA AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO TACKLE THIS AGENDA. IT CONTAINS ISSUES WHICH WILL OCCUPY US FOR THE REST OF THIS CENTURY AND, IN SOME CASES, WELL BEYOND. LEFT UNATTENDED, MANY OF THESE ISSUES -- SUCH AS GLOBAL PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS -- COULD HAVE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR US ALL. OUR HORIZONS ARE AMBITIOUS. THEY MUST BE. NEITHER BONN NOR WASHINGTON HAS ALL THE ANSWERS; NOR CAN WE SHOULDER THE BURDEN ALONE. ONLY BY JOINT EFFORT, WITH FRIENDS AND ALLIES, CAN WE HOPE TO SUCCEED. IN THIS, WE RELY HEAVILY ON THE INSTRUMENTS AND THE TRADITIONS OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY.

LET ME ILLUSTRATE THIS AGENDA IN SOME DETAIL, FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

FIRST, WE SEE A WORLDWIDE DEMAND FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY -- VALUES FOR WHICH THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY STANDS. IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND IN THE PROCESS WHICH IT BEGAN, THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY HAS ACKNOWLEDGED ITS RIGHT AND ITS DUTY TO FOCUS ON HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS. IN A GLOBAL SENSE, HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME.

THERE IS ROOM FOR HONEST DEBATE ON APPROACHES, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT A RECOMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS CAN RESTORE MORAL PURPOSE AND POPULAR SUPPORT TO OUR POLITICAL PROCESSES, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

SECOND, WE SEEK TO WIDEN COOPERATION WITH OUR KEY ALLIES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN. WE WANT MORE PERSONAL EXCHANGE, MORE TRADE IN IDEAS AS WELL AS GOODS. WE
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ALSO SEEK CLOSER TIES WITH THE NEW "REGIONAL" POWERS WHICH
HAVE EMERGED SINCE WORLD
WAR II.

THIRD, WE SEEK TO STABILIZE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH
THE SOVIET UNION IN A PATTERN OF DETENTE WHICH IS
COMPREHENSIVE AND GENUINELY RECIPROCAL. WE INSIST

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1188

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ON AN INDIVISIBLE DETENTE, NOT THE SELECTIVE DETENTE
WHICH THE SOVIETS USE TO PURSUE TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY
IN THE THIRD WORLD. AS THE SOVIETS HAVE AMPLY
DEMONSTRATED, DETENTE LEAVES MUCH ROOM FOR
IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES. HUMAN RIGHTS IS OBVIOUSLY AN
ISSUE ON WHICH THE WARSAW PACT FEELS ITSELF TO BE
VULNERABLE, AND WITH GOOD REASON. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO
REASON FOR US TO BELIEVE THAT AN AGGRESSIVE COMMITMENT
TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE QUEST FOR DETENTE ARE
INCOMPATIBLE. A MAJOR TASK IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE
SOVIET UNION IS TO BALANCE ELEMENTS OF COOPERATION AND
CONFRONTATION. IN THIS CONTEXT, COMMUNIST PROXY WARS
IN AFRICA PRESENT US WITH A SHARP NEW CHALLENGE, FOR
WHICH AN ANSWER HAS YET TO BE FOUND.

FOURTH, THE UNITED STATES WILL MAINTAIN
SUFFICIENT MILITARY FORCE TO SUPPORT ITS GLOBAL SECURITY

INTERESTS, AN ADEQUATE STRATEGIC DETERRENT, AND --
TOGETHER WITH OUR NATO PARTNERS -- THE CONVENTIONAL
BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE.

FIFTH, WE MUST REMAIN POLITICALLY ENGAGED IN ALL
REGIONS OF THE WORLD. TOWARD THAT END, WE ARE
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INTENSIFYING COOPERATION WITH MODERATE STATES ON THE
CONTINENT OF AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE.

SIXTH, WE ARE INCREASING OUR EFFORTS FOR CON-
STRUCTIVE AND COOPERATIVE SOLUTIONS TO EMERGING GLOBAL
PROBLEMS SUCH AS NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION.

SEVENTH, WE ARE WORKING TO SUSTAIN DOMESTIC
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THOSE POLICIES BY ROOTING THEM
CLEARLY IN MORAL VALUES. TO SOME DEGREE, ALL DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETIES HAVE THIS PROBLEM. PUBLIC OPINION IS AN
INTEGRAL FACTOR IN SHAPING AND IMPLEMENTING POLICY, AND
VALUES MUST BE ARTICULATED IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN POPULAR
SUPPORT. THIS IS NOT A MATTER OF PREFERENCE, AS
PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MADE PLAIN. IT IS A SIMPLE
RECOGNITION OF FACT.

EIGHTH, WE SEEK A COORDINATED APPROACH TO WORLD
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS -- ENERGY, UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION,
PAYMENTS IMBALANCES, LOW INVESTMENT, AND PROTECTIONISM--
WHICH GO TO THE HEART OF OUR ABILITY TO WORK TOGETHER,
AND TO HOLD THE TRUST AND CONFIDENCE OF OUR PEOPLES.
THE RECENT ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN BONN WAS A MAJOR STEP
FORWARD ON A JOURNEY WHICH WE KNOW WILL BE LONG AND
ARDUOUS. COOPERATION OF THIS KIND OFFERS THE ONLY
REALISTIC HOPE FOR US TO RESTORE HEALTH TO THE FREE
WORLD ECONOMY ON WHICH WE ALL DEPEND.

ON THE DAY BEFORE HIS INAUGURATION, PRESIDENT-ELECT
CARTER ADDRESSED A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.
HE SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL GUIDE ITS FOREIGN
RELATIONS BY ITS DESIRE TO "SHAPE A WORLD ORDER THAT IS
MORE RESPONSIVE TO HUMAN ASPIRATIONS." HE PLEDGED THAT
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OTHER COUNTRIES CAN DEPEND ON US TO:

-- LEAD THE QUEST FOR WORLD PEACE;

-- REMAIN STEADFAST IN OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN
FREEDOM AND LIBERTY;

-- BE SENSITIVE TO THEIR CONCERNS AND
ASPIRATIONS;

-- WELCOME ADVICE; AND

-- DO OUR BEST TO RESOLVE INTERNATIONAL
DIFFERENCES IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION.

THAT PHILOSOPHY GUIDES OUR APPROACH TO THE AGENDA
WHICH I HAVE OUTLINED, AND OUR ROLE IN THE ATLANTIC
COMMUNITY. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO STAY
ON THIS COURSE.

IN A DYNAMIC WORLD, WE REALIZE THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH
FOR US TO SHARE COMMON PURPOSES -- AS WE DO. WE MUST
ALSO SEEK TO STRENGTHEN THE INSTITUTIONS THAT SERVE
THOSE PURPOSES -- AS WE ARE DOING. OUR VIGILANCE NOW

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1189

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EXTENDS TO AREAS BEYOND EUROPE -- SUCH AS AFRICA --
WHERE NEW THREATS ARISE. YET OUR MAIN CONCERN REMAINS,
AND PROPERLY SO, THE STATE OF TIES BETWEEN NORTH
AMERICA AND EUROPE.

FROM TIME TO TIME, WE TAKE STOCK OF HOW WELL WE ARE DOING: JUST WHAT DOES THIS ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP MEAN IN 1978? YOUR CONFERENCE HAS ADDRESSED ITSELF TO THE QUESTION, AND I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN TAKE SATISFACTION IN THE ANSWERS.

LESS THAN FOUR MONTHS AGO, THE NATO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT HELD A VERY SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON. THEY AGREED THAT THE HARSH REALITY WHICH CALLED NATO INTO BEING REQUIRES OUR CONTINUED VIGILANCE AND EFFORT: I.E., THE GROWING MIGHT OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WARSAW PACT WHICH FAR EXCEEDS LEGITIMATE SECURITY NEEDS. THEY SHOWED ONCE AGAIN, A FULL UNITY OF PURPOSE AND ACTION. THEY REAFFIRMED THE PLEDGE OF EACH TO SAFEGUARD THE SECURITY OF ALL.

FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, NATO HAD WORKED ON WAYS TO MEET THE GROWING EXTERNAL THREAT MORE EFFECTIVELY, AND TO UNCLASSIFIED

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IMPROVE THE DIVISION OF LABOR AMONG ITS MEMBERS. THESE STEPS INCLUDE: A MAJOR STUDY OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND OTHER TRENDS WHICH ARE LIKELY TO CONDITION EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN THE YEARS AHEAD; THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM; AND THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE ON COOPERATION IN DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF WEAPONS.

WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS IN ALL THREE FIELDS:

-- THE STUDY ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS CONFIRMED THE VALIDITY OF NATO'S DUAL STRATEGY OF MAINTAINING SUFFICIENT MILITARY STRENGTH WHILE PURSUING DETENTE WITH AN ADVERSARY WHOSE POLICIES IN ALL LIKELIHOOD WILL UNDERGO NO MAJOR CHANGE IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

-- AT THE NATO SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON, MEMBERS OF THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE ADOPTED A 15-YEAR LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM WHICH WILL ACHIEVE GREATER ALLIANCE COORDINATION FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE. FOR THE FIRST TIME, NATO PROJECTED GOALS -- AND PLEDGED RESOURCES -- FAR INTO THE FUTURE: THE LTDP COVERS DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE NEEDS INTO THE 1990'S. ACCORDINGLY, MOST NATO MEMBERS, INCLUDING OUR TWO COUNTRIES, HAVE PLEDGED TO SEEK AN ANNUAL THREE-PERCENT RISE IN REAL DEFENSE OUTLAYS.

-- THE UNITED STATES IS TAKING STEPS TO GIVE NEW CONTENT TO THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE ON ARMS DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION, THE FAMOUS "TWO-WAY STREET." U.S. ARMED FORCES HAVE ALREADY ANNOUNCED PLANS TO

PURCHASE THE ROLAND MISSILE, THE BELGIAN MACHINE GUN, AND
A SIZEABLE AMOUNT OF GERMAN VEHICLES FOR OUR TROOPS
STATIONED IN EUROPE. WE HAVE DECLARED OUR DESIRE TO
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PURCHASE THE GERMAN 120-MM GUN FOR OUR MAIN BATTLE TANK.
TO BE SURE, MUCH HAS YET TO BE DONE. MANY QUESTIONS
REMAIN. BUT WE ARE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

BY ENHANCING THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ALLIANCE, THESE

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MEASURES STRENGTHEN NATO'S ABILITY TO RESIST BOTH POLITI-
CAL PRESSURES -- WHICH ARE ALWAYS LIKELY -- AND OUTRIGHT
AGRESSION WHICH, ALTHOUGH UNLIKELY, CANNOT BE EXCLUDED.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

THERE ARE STRONG SIMILARITIES BETWEEN CLAUSEWITZ'S AGE
AND OUR OWN. LIKE HIM, WE LIVE IN A TURBULENT ERA OF
MENACE AND PROMISE, AN ERA WHICH ALMOST DAILY WITNESSES
THE SURGE OF IDEOLOGY, THE EMERGENCE OF NEW STATES, A
SHIFT IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN POLITICS AND WAR, THE
OVERTHROW OF SOME STRUCTURES - POLITICAL, ECONOMIC,

FINANCIAL - AND THE QUEST FOR NEW ONES WHICH, IN MANY CASES, HAVE YET TO BE DEFINED.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE SEE THAT THE TIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AND BETWEEN THE CONTINENTS OF NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE, ARE GROWING STRONGER. THIS BESPEAKS A GOOD FUTURE FOR THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. YET IT IS CURIOUS THAT, ON MANY FRONTS, WE SUFFER TODAY FROM A CRISIS OF SPIRIT. FOR SEVERAL YEARS, WESTERN DEMOCRACIES HAVE WRESTLED WITH INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, A GENERAL SLOWDOWN IN UNCLASSIFIED

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GROWTH, TURMOIL IN EDUCATION, HAZARDS TO THE ENVIRONMENT, SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS, A VAGUELY DEFINED MALAISE OF YOUTH, AND TERRORISM. TO MANY CITIZENS -- AND ALL TOO OFTEN TO OUR YOUNGER GENERATION -- GOVERNMENT APPEARS ABSTRACT, DISTANT, UNEQUAL TO THESE CHALLENGES. THIS PERCEPTION FORMS ONE OF THE MOST SUBTLE AND DIFFICULT PROBLEMS BEFORE THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY TODAY.

WE BELIEVE, AND OUR EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN, THAT DEMOCRACY IS THE MOST HUMANE AND EFFECTIVE MEANS OF ORGANIZING SOCIETY IN THE MODERN AGE. OUR GENERATION MUST NOW DEMONSTRATE TO ITS SUCCESSOR THAT DEMOCRATIC VALUES ARE VALID FOR THE FUTURE. THROUGHOUT ITS HISTORY, THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY HAS RISEN TO GREAT CHALLENGE. I HAVE FULL CONFIDENCE THAT IT WILL SURMOUNT THIS ONE. ALREADY, WE HAVE MADE MUCH PROGRESS, INDIVIDUALLY AND IN COOPERATIVE EFFORTS SUCH AS THE RECENT SUMMIT MEETINGS. THERE IS STILL MUCH THAT WE MUST DO TOGETHER, AND MUCH THAT WE CAN LEARN FROM EACH OTHER.

MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY NEEDS:

- THE DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE WHICH NATO PROVIDES;
- A DEMOCRATIC MECHANISM FOR PURSUING DETENTE, FOR CONSULTING ON EAST-WEST MATTERS AND OTHER ISSUES OF OUR TIME: AND

- TO HELP ITS MEMBERS TO COPE WITH THE PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

IN THIS, AS IN SO MANY OTHER CASES, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW, HAVE A MAJOR ROLE. WE SHARE UNCLASSIFIED

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TRULY VAST RESPONSIBILITIES AND INTERESTS. TOGETHER,
WE WILL CONTINUE TO DEFEND WHAT CLAUSEWITZ CALLED THE
DIGNITY AND THE FREEDOM" OF OUR PEOPLES.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. END TEXT. MEEHAN

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Message Attributes

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Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780845/aaaablz.tel
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Message ID: 503de360-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
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Review Release Date: N/A
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SAS ID: 1685847
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Status: NATIVE
Subject: DRAFT SPEECH FOR DELIVERY TO THE CLAUSEWITZ GESELLSCHAFT IN HAMBURG, SEPTEMBER 16, 1978
TAGS: SOPN, PINT, GE, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
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